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FAREWELL ADDRESS

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STATE HOUSE
BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS

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TWO WEEKS FROM TODAY. THE RESPONSIBILITY AND THE HONOR OF LEADING THIS COMMONWEALTH WILL PASS TO A NEW GOVERNOR. AND I WISH HIM WELL.

THIS HAS BEEN A GOOD TRANSITION. THERE HAS BEEN GOOD WILL AND REAL WORK ON BOTH SIDES. AND THE PEOPLE OF THE COMMONWEALTH WILL BE THE BETTER FOR IT.

BUT BEFORE THE THIRD OF JANUARY ARRIVES, I WANT TO TAKE ONE LAST OPPORTUNITY TO SHARE SOME THOUGHTS WITH SO MANY OF YOU WHO HAVE WORKED WITH ME; CAMPAIGNED FOR ME; VOTED FOR ME; OR JUST PLAIN PUT UP WITH ME OVER THE PAST THIRTY YEARS.

I GOT INTO THIS BUSINESS BECAUSE I WAS INSPIRED TO SERVE BY A YOUNG PRESIDENT FROM MASSACHUSETTS. JOHN KENNEDY--THE MAN WHO CALLED GOVERNMENT "OUR GENERATION'S MOST IMPORTANT BUSINESS--THE PUBLIC BUSINESS"--WAS THE LAST PRESIDENT WHO SEEMED TO BE ABLE TO TURN YOUNG PEOPLE ON TO PUBLIC SERVICE.

I'VE TRIED IN MY OWN WAY TO DO THE SAME--AND IF THERE'S ONE THING I'M

PROUDEST OF ABOUT MY YEARS IN PUBLIC OFFICE. IT'S THE PEOPLE I HAVE BEEN ABLE TO BRING INTO GOVERNMENT--MANY OF WHOM ARE NOW AMONG THE FINEST PUBLIC SERVANTS WE HAVE--OR EVER HAVE HAD.

WE'RE TOLD THESE DAYS THAT YOUNG PEOPLE ARE TURNING AWAY FROM POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT; THAT THE ANTI-GOVERNMENT MOOD OF THE PAST FEW YEARS IS MAKING IT DIFFICULT FOR POLITICAL LEADERS TO RECRUIT GOOD PEOPLE--AND ON AND ON.

I'VE HEARD IT ALL BEFORE, AND, FRANKLY, I DON'T BUY IT. THE FACT IS THAT THE INSTINCT FOR PUBLIC SERVICE IS AS ALIVE TODAY IN YOUNG PEOPLE AS IT EVER WAS. I FIND IT EVERY TIME I STEP ON A COLLEGE CAMPUS; I FIND IT EVERY TIME A GROUP OF YOUNG PEOPLE VISITS ME IN THE STATE HOUSE.

WHAT IT NEEDS IS ENCOURAGEMENT AND NURTURING AND GUIDANCE. AND THOSE OF US WHO HAVE HAD THE OPPORTUNITY AND TASTED THE EXCITEMENT OF BEING IN PUBLIC LIFE HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY, I BELIEVE, TO PROVIDE THAT NURTURING AND THAT ENCOURAGEMENT AND THAT GUIDANCE.

MANY OF YOU HERE TONIGHT AND ACROSS THIS COMMONWEALTH HAVE SET THE STANDARD FOR PUBLIC SERVICE.

THANK YOU FOR THE TREMENDOUS JOB YOU'VE DONE, ESPECIALLY UNDER THE VERY DIFFICULT CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE PAST TWO YEARS. I'M EXTREMELY PROUD OF EACH AND EVERY ONE OF YOU.

SURE WE'VE MADE MISTAKES--PLENTY OF THEM.

SURE I HAVE REGRETS--PLENTY OF THEM.

IT HURTS WHEN I HEAR PEOPLE TEAR DOWN INSTITUTIONS AND PUBLIC SERVANTS WHO ARE TRYING THEIR BEST TO IMPROVE THE QUALITY OF LIFE OF THEIR FELLOW CITIZENS.

IT HURTS WHEN I HEAR A STATE GOVERNMENT FOR WHICH I CARE SO DEEPLY RIDICULED AND INSULTED.

BUT I REFUSE TO LET THE DIFFICULTIES OF THE PAST TWO YEARS BLOT OUT HOW MUCH WE'VE DONE AND HOW FAR WE'VE COME FROM THE DARK AND DISMAL DAYS OF 1975.

SIXTEEN YEARS AGO, WE WERE THE NEW APPALACHIA. WE HAD NO HOPE. WE HAD NO FUTURE. TODAY, EVEN IN THE FACE OF A RECESSION, I DON'T KNOW OF ANYONE WHO DOESN'T BELIEVE THAT A STATE WITH THE FINEST COLLEGES, UNIVERSITIES AND MEDICAL CENTERS IN THE WORLD CAN'T SHAKE OFF THE GLOOM AND DOOM AND BUILD A PROUD FUTURE FOR ITSELF AND FOR ITS CITIZENS.

SIXTEEN YEARS AGO, WE WERE LAST IN THE CARE AND EDUCATION OF THE MENTALLY RETARDED. TODAY, WE ARE FIRST.

SIXTEEN YEARS AGO, OUR OLDER URBAN COMMUNITIES WERE ISLANDS OF DESPAIR. TODAY--EVEN IN AN ECONOMIC DOWNTURN--THEY ARE MODELS OF COMMUNITY REVITALIZATION AT ITS BEST.

SIXTEEN YEARS AGO, FAMILIES ON PUBLIC ASSISTANCE IN MASSACHUSETTS

WERE DOOMED TO A FUTURE OF HOPELESSNESS AND DEPENDENCY. GENERATION AFTER GENERATION. TODAY, THOUSANDS OF THOSE SAME FAMILIES ARE LIVING HOPEFUL AND PRODUCTIVE LIVES BECAUSE WE'VE PROVED THAT REAL TRAINING FOR REAL JOBS AND CHILD CARE FOR THEIR CHILDREN CAN MAKE A REAL DIFFERENCE IN THEIR LIVES--AND IN OURS.

SIXTEEN YEARS AGO, THOUSANDS OF ELDERLY CITIZENS IN THIS STATE WERE LIVING OUT THEIR LIVES IN POVERTY AND NEGLECT. TODAY, THEY ARE LIVING IN DECENT AND SAFE AND SANITARY HOUSING WITH THE BEST HOME CARE IN THE NATION.

SIXTEEN YEARS AGO, WE HAD A PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION SYSTEM THAT WAS THE BANE OF OUR LIVES. TODAY, IT'S WAY OUT IN FRONT.

SIXTEEN YEARS AGO, WE DIDN'T HAVE A CLUE ABOUT HOW TO FIGHT THE WAR AGAINST DRUGS AND ALCOHOL. TODAY, OUR ALLIANCE IS A NATIONAL MODEL--AND IT'S MAKING A DIFFERENCE IN THE LIVES OF THOUSANDS OF MASSACHUSETTS YOUNGSTERS AND THEIR FAMILIES.

the first of these is the fact that the first of the three is the most important.

The second of these is the fact that the second of the three is the most important.

The third of these is the fact that the third of the three is the most important.

The fourth of these is the fact that the fourth of the three is the most important.

The fifth of these is the fact that the fifth of the three is the most important.

The sixth of these is the fact that the sixth of the three is the most important.

The seventh of these is the fact that the seventh of the three is the most important.

The eighth of these is the fact that the eighth of the three is the most important.

The ninth of these is the fact that the ninth of the three is the most important.

The tenth of these is the fact that the tenth of the three is the most important.

The eleventh of these is the fact that the eleventh of the three is the most important.

The twelfth of these is the fact that the twelfth of the three is the most important.

The thirteenth of these is the fact that the thirteenth of the three is the most important.

The fourteenth of these is the fact that the fourteenth of the three is the most important.

SIXTEEN YEARS AGO. WE WERE DESTROYING OUR ENVIRONMENT AND DIDN'T EVEN KNOW IT. TODAY, WE ARE IN THE TOP RANK OF STATES THAT ARE NURTURING AND PROTECTING THEIR ENVIRONMENT; AND WE ARE, GOD SAVE THE MARK, WELL UNDER WAY ON THE CLEANUP OF BOSTON HARBOR.

ALL BECAUSE WE BELIEVED--AND CONTINUE TO BELIEVE--THAT WE HAVE A RESPONSIBILITY TO CREATE A COMMONWEALTH AND A SOCIETY IN WHICH EVERY CITIZEN--AND I MEAN EVERY CITIZEN--CAN HAVE THE KIND OF OPPORTUNITY THAT IS PART AND PARCEL OF THE AMERICAN DREAM.

AND NOTHING DEFINES THAT PRINCIPLE AND THOSE VALUES BETTER THAN THE BATTLE WE HAVE FOUGHT FOR UNIVERSAL HEALTH CARE.

MY FRIENDS, IT'S 1990. THIS IS THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA. EVERY OTHER ADVANCED INDUSTRIAL NATION IN THE WORLD PROVIDES ALL OF ITS CITIZENS WITH COMPREHENSIVE HEALTH CARE.

WE HERE IN THE UNITED STATES ARE SPENDING TWICE PER CAPITA WHAT THEY

ARE. AND YET FORTY MILLION OF OUR FELLOW CITIZENS DON'T HAVE A DIME OF HEALTH INSURANCE--AND AREN'T POOR ENOUGH TO QUALIFY FOR MEDICAID. FOUR HUNDRED THOUSAND OF THEM LIVE IN MASSACHUSETTS--AND WE HAVE THE LOWEST NUMBER OF UNINSURED CITIZENS OF ANY STATE OTHER THAN HAWAII.

WE CAN'T RETREAT NOW. WE MUST BE, AS WE HAVE BEEN SO OFTEN IN THE PAST, THE STATE THAT SHOWS THAT IT CAN BE DONE--AND MUST BE DONE--FOR EVERY CITIZEN AND FAMILY IN THE NATION.

I BELIEVE OUR INABILITY TO COME TO GRIPS WITH THE PROBLEM AND THE COST OF HEALTH CARE IN THIS COUNTRY IS A SYMPTOM, A METAPHOR FOR WHAT AILS AMERICA.

HERE WE ARE, CLOSING IN ON THE END OF ONE CENTURY AND THE BEGINNING OF A NEW ONE. THE COLD WAR IS OVER. WE'VE WON. OUR ADVERSARY IS IN TATTERS. OUR VALUES--OUR POLITICAL SYSTEM--OUR CONSTITUTION ARE THE THINGS THAT THE NEWLY EMERGING DEMOCRACIES ARE LOOKING TO FOR HOPE AND FOR INSPIRATION.

WE SHOULD FEEL TERRIFIC. WE SHOULD BE LEADING, BOTH AT HOME AND ABROAD. WE SHOULD BE TAKING THE PEACE DIVIDEND THAT SHOULD BE OURS--EVEN WITH THE COST OF THE MIDDLE EAST BUILD UP--AND INVESTING IT IN OUR FUTURE AND THE FUTURE OF THOSE WHO HAVE STRUGGLED TO BREAK THE YOKE OF COMMUNISM AND ARE NOW STRUGGLING TO BUILD YOUNG AND VERY FRAGILE DEMOCRACIES.

BUT WE DON'T FEEL TERRIFIC. ON THE CONTRARY, WE SEEM TO BE HAVING A COLLECTIVE POLITICAL NERVOUS BREAKDOWN IN THIS COUNTRY.

AND I THINK WE KNOW WHY.

WE'VE BEGUN TO REALIZE THAT A FUTURE THAT'S BUILT ON A CREDIT CARD JUST WON'T MAKE IT.

THAT A "MORNING IN AMERICA" THAT IGNORES OUR FUNDAMENTAL RESPONSIBILITIES TO OUR CHILDREN AND TO EACH OTHER CARRIES WITH IT A COLOSSAL TEN-YEAR HANGOVER.

THAT INDULGING OURSELVES IN A WORLD OF QUICK BUCKS AND JUNK BONDS AND LEVERAGED BUYOUTS AND SAVINGS AND LOAN OPERATORS HAS LEFT US SOFT AND FLABBY AND UNABLE TO DEAL WITH THE TOUGHNESS AND COMPETITIVE INSTINCTS OF OTHERS.

NOW THAT DOESN'T MEAN THAT WE HERE IN MASSACHUSETTS CAN SMUGLY POINT THE FINGER AT OUR BRETHREN IN WASHINGTON. WE'VE HAD MORE THAN OUR SHARE OF TROUBLES OVER THE PAST TWO YEARS.

BUT WE'VE MADE THE CUTS. WE'VE DONE WHAT WASN'T POPULAR. IT HASN'T BEEN FUN, AND IT HASN'T BEEN EASY. BUT WE'VE DONE IT--AND SO MUST THE NATION IF WE ARE TO PROVIDE THE KIND OF LEADERSHIP FOR THE WORLD AND THE KIND OF FUTURE FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT WE WANT FOR OURSELVES AND FOR ALL MANKIND.

THAT IS WHY I HOPE THAT IN THE WEEKS AND MONTHS AHEAD WE WILL BEGIN TO HAVE A GENUINE DEBATE OVER THE REAL ISSUES, THE FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES THAT FACE THIS COUNTRY.

I THINK THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE READY FOR IT. THEY KNOW--BETTER THAN ANYONE--WHAT'S HAPPENING TO THEM AND WHY.

THEY KNOW THEY'RE EITHER GETTING POORER OR STANDING STILL. THEY KNOW THAT AN AWFUL LOT IS AT STAKE.

AND THIS TIME, I HOPE WE CAN DO A BETTER JOB THAN I DID IN 1988 OF NOT ONLY RESPONDING TO THE ATTACKS AND THE PHONY ISSUES BUT IN DEFINING THE DEBATE IN TERMS THAT REQUIRE US ALL TO UNDERSTAND THE CHOICES WE HAVE TO MAKE.

I MADE A LOT OF MISTAKES IN THE 1988 CAMPAIGN, BUT FEW WERE AS BAD AS MY FAILURE TO MAKE THE CASE FOR THE KIND OF FUNDAMENTAL CHANGE THAT WE, AS A NATION, MUST SEEK.

WHAT SHOULD BE OUR ROLE IN THE WORLD? CAN WE CONTINUE TO BE THE WORLD'S POLICEMAN? SHOULD WE BE? AND CAN WE USE THE INTERNATIONAL CONSENSUS THAT HAS STOPPED IRAQUI AGGRESSION AS A BASIS FOR A NEW WORLD

ORDER IN WHICH THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, UNDER AEGIS OF THE UNITED NATIONS, INSISTS ON THE RULE OF LAW?

WHY ARE THE JAPANESE AND THE GERMANS OUTHUSTLING AND OUTCOMPETING US? WHY HAVE WE LOST OUR COMPETITIVE EDGE? WHY IS TOYOTA ABOUT TO PASS CHRYSLER AS THE THIRD LEADING DOMESTIC AUTOMOBILE MANUFACTURER IN AMERICA? AND WHAT ARE WE GOING TO DO TO GET THAT COMPETITIVE EDGE BACK?

ARE WE GOING TO GO ONE-ON-ONE WITH THE FEDERAL DEFICIT AND FINALLY GET IT UNDER CONTROL--OR ARE WE GOING TO CONTINUE TO PRETEND THAT IT ISN'T TEARING AWAY AT OUR ECONOMIC COMPETITIVENESS AND OUR NATIONAL WILL?

ARE WE GOING TO GET SERIOUS ABOUT THE QUALITY OF THE ENVIRONMENT ON THIS PLANET OF OURS? AND IF SO, WHY AREN'T WE ALREADY LEADING THE INTERNATIONAL EFFORT TO COME TO GRIPS WITH THE GREENHOUSE EFFECT AND GLOBAL WARMING?

HOW LONG ARE WE GOING TO PERMIT THE SADDAM HUSSEINS OF THIS WORLD TO

HOLD US HOSTAGE TO AN ENERGY POLICY THAT HAS TOTALLY FAILED TO WEAN US AWAY FROM OUR GROWING DEPENDENCE ON FOREIGN OIL AND NOW THREATENS TO ENGULF US IN ARMED CONFLICT ALL OVER THE MIDDLE EAST?

ARE WE GOING TO INVEST IN THE EDUCATION OF OUR CHILDREN AND THE TRAINING OF OUR WORKERS--OR AREN'T WE? BECAUSE THEY ARE COMPETING AGAINST YOUNGSTERS AND WORKERS IN OSAKA, NOT OMAHA; IN BONN, NOT BOISE, IN SEOUL, NOT ST. LOUIS.

ARE WE GOING TO GET REAL--OR ARE WE GOING TO TAKE THE PHONY BAIT AGAIN IN 1992?

AND MAKE NO MISTAKE ABOUT IT: THERE ARE SOME WHO DON'T WANT A GENUINE DEBATE ON THE FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES THAT FACE THIS COUNTRY. THEY WANT TO TALK ABOUT QUOTAS AND ABOUT CUTTING OFF SCHOLARSHIPS TO MINORITY STUDENTS.

MY FRIENDS, WE MUST NOT ALLOW AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT--AND

EVEN MORE PERILOUSLY, OUR PRACTICE OF DEMOCRACY AND OUR VERY FUTURE ITSELF--TO BECOME JUST ANOTHER GAME IN THE ELECTRONIC ARCADE OF SLOGANS AND TEN-SECOND SOUND BITES. AND I'M COUNTING ON YOU TO MAKE SURE IT DOESN'T HAPPEN.

KITTY AND I LEAVE FOR HAWAII ON JANUARY 8. WE EXPECT TO BE MET BY 350,000 WILDLY ENTHUSIASTIC GREEK-AUSTRALIANS WHEN WE ARRIVE IN MELBOURNE ON JANUARY 30. WE'LL BE BACK IN HAWAII ON MARCH 6 AND BACK HOME ABOUT THE MIDDLE OF MAY.

WE'LL BE THINKING OF YOU AS WE SOAK UP THE PACIFIC SUN. AND BY THE WAY, I'M LEAVING SWEDISH LAND USE PLANNING AT HOME. AND WE'LL BE ANXIOUS TO CONTINUE TO MAKE A CONTRIBUTION TO OUR STATE AND TO OUR COUNTRY IN WHATEVER WAY SEEMS BEST WHEN WE RETURN.

BUT FOR NOW, WE WANT TO SAY THANK YOU TO THE THOUSANDS AND THOUSANDS OF YOU WHO HAVE GIVEN SO MUCH OF YOURSELVES TO US-- AND TO OUR STATE AND TO OUR COUNTRY. WE OWE YOU SO MUCH AND WE ARE VERY GRATEFUL.

BACK IN 1938, AN EVENT TOOK PLACE IN YANKEE STADIUM WHICH TODAY IS RECOGNIZED AS ONE OF THE GREAT MOMENTS IN SPORTS HISTORY.

LOU GEHRIG, ONE OF THE GREATEST PLAYERS EVER TO PLAY THE GAME OF BASEBALL, HAD BEEN FORCED TO LEAVE THE GAME HE LOVED BECAUSE OF AN ILLNESS THAT WOULD SOON TAKE HIS LIFE. AND HE HAD BEEN FORCED TO QUIT AFTER PLAYING IN 2130 CONSECUTIVE GAMES, A RECORD THAT HAS NEVER BEEN AND PROBABLY NEVER WILL BE EQUALLED.

THERE HE WAS--IN FRONT OF ALL THOSE FANS, SURROUNDED BY HIS TEAMMATES, PAST AND PRESENT--FORCED TO QUIT BY A DISEASE THAT MADE IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR HIM TO HIT A BALL OR FIELD A GROUNDER AT FIRST BASE.

AND YET, FACED WITH ALL HE KNEW THAT WAS AHEAD OF HIM, HE TOLD THOSE FANS: "WOULDN'T YOU CONSIDER IT AN HONOR.... WHEN YOU HAVE A FATHER AND MOTHER WHO WORKED ALL THEIR LIVES SO THAT YOU CAN HAVE AN EDUCATION.... WHEN YOU HAVE A WIFE WHO HAS BEEN A TOWER OF STRENGTH, AND SHOWN MORE COURAGE THAN YOU DREAMED EXISTED.... ...TODAY," HE SAID, "I CONSIDER MYSELF THE LUCKIEST MAN ON THE FACE OF THE EARTH...."

MY FRIENDS. I'VE HAD THIRTY YEARS IN PUBLIC SERVICE; 12 YEARS AS THE CHIEF EXECUTIVE OF A STATE I LOVE; I'VE BEEN MY PARTY'S NOMINEE FOR THE PRESIDENCY OF THE UNITED STATES; AND I HAVE A FAMILY, AND NOW A BEAUTIFUL GRANDDAUGHTER, WHO HAVE BEEN MY SUSTAINING FORCE THROUGH IT ALL.

TONIGHT, I, TOO, CONSIDER MYSELF THE LUCKIEST MAN ON THE FACE OF THE EARTH.

THANKS VERY MUCH.

